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AUTHOR Cassara, Beverly B.
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ABSTRACT

The career patterns of 30 women professors in West Berlin were studied to compare the pace of progress of American female academics and to raise the consciousness of women for each other and for the situation of women in West Berlin universities. The data revealed that the West Berlin universities are male-dominated and resistant to change. Women who have succeeded in most cases, have played their roles according to the traditional male definition. Among differences noted in the roles and status of West Berlin faculty and administrators as compared to their American counterparts was that the position of administrator was not at the top of the academic ladder, but rather in another career ladder altogether. It is shown that there is virtually no organized feminist group in West Germany; those few women from the sample who were actively working for the equality of women were met with frustration and the disruption of their careers. Most of the women saw the movement as useless, at least in their lifetimes. The women studied all had similar family expectations, a comfortable financial basis, an upper middle class outlook on life, and a notable absence of brothers. The women came to their careers in one of three ways--five of the women knew what they wanted, studied, and entered their chosen fields; six studied a subject of their own choosing, without any particular career goals; and the remaining 19 were unable to study the career of their own choosing, usually for sexist or sex-related reasons. Eight of the women married; most elected not to have children. Most of the women had male role models. (PHR)

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# CAREER PATTERNS OF FEMALE PROFESSORS IN WEST BERLIN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

by

Beverly B. Cassara, Dean
School of Graduate Studies
University of the District of Columbia
724 9th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001

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There are several reasons for studying the career patterns of professional women in the university in a country like West Germany. One way of assessing the pace of progress of female academics in the United States is to step out of our own culture and take a look at what is happening in a more male-oriented culture.

In the first place the West German universities do not claim to have provided equality of opportunity for women in the past. Women were not even accepted in the university until 1911. In the intervening years there have been major setbacks for them such as the proscription of many kinds of education for women during the Hitler regime, the difficulties of war times, and then the preference given to veterans in the universities after the war. Today in spite of new attempts toward democratization, the German universities are still offering no form of redress for past discrimination such as our affirmative action programs.

Secondly, as international opportunities for study, consulting, teaching and research become a common expectation of the academic career, it behooves women to think about their progress in cross-cultural terms. Women need to know each other's situations and we need to lend support to each other in any way possible.

Thirdly, it has been suggested by members of the study population that they themselves will be interested to see where they fit as individuals into any patterns that emerge. As yet there is very little feeling of cohesiveness among academic women in West Berlin and they are curious to see what they look like as a collection of individuals at least.

Finally, some of the women in the study population suggest that this effort may help bring a new focus on the situation of women in West Berlin universities that will help open up the question to discussion and raise the consciousness of men and women.

The data from this study[1] reveal that the idea of the German university as a male-dominated institution in Germany is very resistant to change. There are few women in the higher positions, and retrenchment is cutting into the recent gains of women in the lower ranks. The women who have made it to the top and those still aspiring to the top ranks in most cases have played their roles according to the traditional male definition. They have mostly remained single in order to devote their time to their careers, and the married women have had very few if any children. Most of the women in the study have played little or no part in the feminist movement because the pressure to perform in their own careers requires a certain single-mindedness. A few of the younger women particularly resent the necessity for such single-mindedness. They believe it should be possible to work successfully at an academic career without absolutely wedding themselves to the university. They feel that even with the new 1969 democratization law the university tends to be too stuffy and that the price a woman has to pay in terms of her personal life and development is too great.

In this study interesting patterns emerge concerning the educational background of the participants, their career patterns, their attitudes toward the university and its administration, and their own aspirations.

This study was carried out in two parts. Before interviewing the women themselves it was necessary to investigate the cross-cultural differences in the structure of the university and to identify the roles that carry the most status and prestige in the university community. In this phase up to thirty students, faculty members and administrators were interviewed.

To determine how many professional women there were in the four universities in West Berlin and at what level they were employed it was necessary to petition

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[1] The author was a Senior Research Fellow with the Fulbright-Hays Program in West Berlin, January through June, 1976.

each university to search out these figures because they were not readily available. A stratified sample of thirty academic women was selected to include a variety of ages, institutions and disciplines including liberal arts, fine arts, education, the sciences and medicine. A semi-structured interview schedule was used for the sake of obtaining comparable information, but many open-ended questions allowed the women to digress as their time and interest permitted. This gave the author an opportunity to check the reliability of replies, in cases of cross-cultural misunderstandings on the part of either interviewer or interviewee.

In West Berlin, some 60 - 70 thousand students are served in four institutions of higher education. These are: die Freie Universität, die Technische Universität, die Pädagogoische Hochschule and die Hochschule der Künste. Functionally these translate to the Free University, the Technical University, the College of Education and the College of Fine Arts.

In 1976 there was a combined total of 4620 faculty members in these institutions, of which 563 or approximately 12 percent, were women. At the top professional level, from a total of 548, there were 539 men and nine women, or about .2 percent to 12 percent men. In the lowest two levels combined, those of assistant and assistant professor, there were 439 women out of a total of 3004 faculty members or about 9 percent women to 55 percent men. At the middle level there were 125 women out of a total of 1068 or about 3 percent to 20 percent men. (See Table I)

To discuss in a meaningful way the situation of the professional academic woman in West Berlin, it is necessary here to explain the structure and the administration of German universities and the status accorded to the various positions therein.

The role and status of academic administrators and faculty members in German universities is somewhat different from ours. To begin with, the position of the

Table I

The number of women and men faculty members, with approximate percentages, grouped by rank level in four institutions of higher learning in West Berlin.[2]

| | Total Number in Faculty | Highest Rank | | Middle Ranks | | Lower Ranks | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Men | Women | Men | Women | Men | Women |
| Pädagogische Hochschule | 381 | 75 (20%) | 2 (.5%) | 113 (30%) | 49 (13%) | 94 (25%) | 48 (13%) |
| Hochschule der Künste | 227 | 71 (31%) | 4 (2%) | 112 (49%) | 22 (10%) | undifferentiated 18 (total) (8%) | |
| Technische Universität | 1516 | 177 (12%) | 2 (.1%) | 258 (17%) | 11 (.7%) | 1016 (67%) | 52 (3%) |
| Freie Universität | 2496 | 216 (9%) | 1 (.04%) | 460 (18%) | 43 (2%) | 1447 (58%) | 329 (13%) |
| Combined Totals | 4620 | 548 | | 1068 | | 3004 | |
| Male and Female Totals | | 539 | 9 | 943 | 125 | 2557 | 429 |
| Approximate Percentages | | (12%) | (.2%) | (20%) | (3%) | (55%) | (9%) |

[2]While it is not the purpose of this paper to establish comparisons with conditions in American Universities, it should just be noted here that women comprise about 20 percent of the faculty members in the United States.

president of a university may be filled by a top academic person as in the United States, but often it is not. Traditionally, aside from the position of rector which is less common now (a top administrative position that required an academic background), administrative functions in German universities have been regarded as more clerical in nature than academic. Therefore, the administrative position has not been the top of the career ladder for academics, but a different career ladder altogether. Such positions do not hold academic prestige, but rather administrative prestige and require a certain political or legal turn of mind and training. Therefore these positions would not be tempting to a full professor as a general rule.

While recent university laws, dating back to the late sixties in Berlin, have changed the administrative structure of the university so that it will be more democratic, the old values relating to various positions seem to hold by the strength of tradition. For instance, the most coveted academic position has been that of the full professor with a chair, which in German terms has meant the permanent chairmanship of a Faculty (depending on the instance, this might be comparable to a school, a division or a department in American terms). With the new law, all chairmanships are elected positions for a stipulated number of years, and the positions may be filled by students, staff, or faculty. Even robbed of the possible glory of a lifetime chairmanship, the full professorship still remains the most prestigious position in the university and one of the most prestigious in society at large.

At the top of the administrative hierarchy in the universities in West Berlin today, according to the law, the president is elected by a representative body of the faculty, staff, and students. This position could be filled by a person from any of those categories or by a person from outside the university. Recent incumbents have come from the academic ranks, but not as a capstone to an academic career but rather as a deviation from an academic career. In such a case, it is generally

assumed by the academic community that such a person has made the choice to give over an academic career. In 1976 there was no female university president in West Berlin or West Germany.

In each of the West Berlin institutions there is a chancellor, who is essentially a business executive, and several vice presidents. In 1976 there was one female chancellor in all of West Germany. Only one of the vice presidents must be an academic person. Most serious academics, however, would regret giving over any of their teaching, research or writing time to accept such positions. There had been only one female vice president in West Berlin at the time of this study and she remained in that position only a little more than two years.

On the professorial ladder in West Berlin there are six steps. The persons in the lowest two steps are given terminal appointments for four or five years at each level, during which time they are supposed to finish their doctorates and the second German degree known as the Habilitation. If they have been successful at this, they stand a chance of employment at the third level, depending on the availability of positions. They might have to look beyond the universities in West Berlin to those in West Germany, of course. Without the Habilitation, it is unlikely that they will have much success in placing, especially in the new tight job market of today. The persons in steps one and two are given reduced teaching loads so that they may concentrate heavily on their own research and writing. Full professors carry the heavier loads.

After arriving at step three, moving to steps four and five will depend upon the situation. From step three on, a person has tenure for life in that slot and therefore step three is the most important career attainment. Step six is the plum of them all. Where the salaries at other levels are more or less fixed, at step six greater possibility of negotiation exists. However, this prestigious position is not easily come by. This is especially true for persons in West Berlin univer-

sities who have taken their doctorate and habilitation in West Berlin since universities there must continually strive to bring in faculty members from West Germany to maintain healthy contact with the outside world. This means, therefore, that such a person either achieves the fifth level in West Berlin with little hope of promotion, or else it means that a person must try to move out ot a West German university while at the third or fourth step in order to be in line for the sixth step when the time is ripe.

The top professors used to be the "little kings" who ran the university, but few women ever made it to this rank, especially to the German equivelant of a permanent chairmanship. Those who had been working diligently and aspiring toward this end, had the rug pulled out from under them by the democratization law.

The democratization law spells out procedures for making decisions at every level, and the university structure is suffering from adjustment pains related to the new plan. The basic unit of the university is now the Fachbereich which compares perhaps to a division in American terms, although it may also be more the equivalent of a department. There are also Institutes which are organizational units for interdisciplinary study and other special purposes. Each Fachbereich or Institute has an administrative committee which is supposed to be composed of seven full professors, four professors from other levels, three students and one person from the support staff. Since there are few females to fill the full professor slots, this committee may be heavily weighted in favor of men. This committee must decide policy, personnel matters, special curriculum matters, and make recommendations for doctorates and Habilitations, among other things. The committee chooses its own chairman from among the faculty persons of its members. That person must then execute the will of the committee--a far cry from the power of the chairmanship in former days. The decisions of the committee are not binding on the hierarchy above it, but are more like recommendations which then go to a larger university-wide committee, known as

the Senate, which in turn makes recommendations to the president. Mostly, professors do not consider it an honor or even prestigious to serve on these committees, and may even strive not to do so if possible. The work is very time-consuming and sometimes endlessly frustrating when decisions become political matters which take untold hours to resolve, if they can be resolved at all. This work cuts into the time a professor cherishes for scholarly productivity, and carries no reward of prestige or power but only that of trying to do one's duty. When the power of the university was in the hands of the elders who held the chairs, the lower ranking professors had no chance to have their say. Now that the power is supposedly divided among all, politics makes it possible but terribly frustrating and time-consuming for anyone to have a say; particularly is this true in West Berlin universities.

One could say that there is virtually no national women's movement in West Germany. West Berlin and Frankfurt are the two leading centers of activity. However, even in those two cities, it is very peripheral and does not receive much attention from the power structure in the universities. A few of the younger women in this sample of thirty are actively working for equality for women, and at least two of the most senior women are also, but their rewards for their efforts in the university have been mostly frustration and the disruption of their own careers.

This feminist-oriented group includes even those women who are only struggling consciously for equal opportunity for themselves in their private and professional lives and may not be connected to action in the movement.

The non-feminists in this study may be in sympathy with the objective for equality for women, but they do not see the movement as a viable solution to the problem. They may believe that the social structure of the culture is too ingrained to be changed -- in their own lifetimes, at any rate. Some see the movement meetings as useless because the women who need them most are never present. There are also those who, having climbed the ladder to the top without the help of any move-

ment, believe that other women must do the same, that the individual woman herself must spend all her energies on becoming a respected expert in her own field within the status quo.

Of the twelve women in their thirties, eleven had some connection with feminist activities, however tenuous. Of the seven women in their forties only two were interested and active in promiting women's interests. Only one of the seven in their fifties did so, and of the four women in their sixties two were highly involved and two were not involved at all. However, it should be pointed out that there were no active anti-feminists.

There is no professional reward for feminism in the university. Two senior women who have taken a stand have accomplished a few important objectives like introducing certain women's studies subjects into the state exams taken by students to receive diplomas at the end of their university work. These women also write about sexist discrimination in the university and society but do not find a ready market for this work and get almost no professional points for doing it.

The younger women who have tried to promote women's interests in the university are equally frustrated. For instance, their initial efforts to promote women's studies, which seemed promising, have borne little fruit. This is all the more distressing to them since these activities have cost them much in time and effort. They find the university to be a cold, inhuman, unresponsive milieu and quite unredemptive in spite of the democratization law, so that while some of them have dug in their heels to stay and fight for the cause, others have or are planning to give over their university careers for work that will enable them to have a greater effect on improving the quality of life generally and specifically for the persons with whom they will be working.

Looking to the family backgrounds of the women in this study, one could almost say that fate played the feminist part in their behalf, bringing them into the

world in family situations which enhanced their chances of becoming professional women in a culture that has not encouraged women in that direction.

In the first place, it goes without saying that these particular women are all endowed with mental ability, but beyond that their situations have several common features, i.e., family expectations, comfortable financial basis, upper middle class outlook on life, and a notable absence of brothers.

The financing of education would never have been a problem for these women, except for the disruptions caused by the Second World War. Only those who needed to study in the immediate post-war years had any financial difficulty. After that the "economic miracle" of Germany came about so swiftly that financial difficulty was no longer a consideration. Also it should be noted that higher education is highly subsidized by the state in Germany. Therefore the need for support is more related to the situation of one's upbringing and family expectations than matters like direct payment of tuition.

Very significant is the fact that almost two-thirds of the women in this study had no brothers or at least no significant male sibling competition for leadership opportunities within the family. Fifteen of the women in the study had no brothers at all. In another case a brother had died early, and in still another there was a half-brother sixteen years older. Three of the women had brothers who offered no competition for educational opportunities because they did not wish to study at the university. Seven of the women had brothers who also attended university and the data on the remaining three is indefinite.

In a culture where boys are expected to uphold and enhance the condition or status of the family line, the family without boys must look to the girls to take up this responsibility. The families without sons look to the girls to accomplish something significant. This is also true when boys do not choose to go to university or are not admitted. However, that seven of those who had brothers were given

equal opportunity for study as the boys is noteworthy. In a male-oriented culture, such families are the exception, as suggested by the fact that ten of the women without brothers said that in their families boys would definitely have received preferential educational privileges and encouragement.

It is also significant that in discussing the question of family attitudes toward the education of girls, the women were inclined to speak in terms of their fathers' expectations. In three cases the mother was mentioned because there was no father. However, in several cases where the mother was mentioned, she was portrayed as being influenced by the father and the demands of the male-oriented society, or as a negative role model. One woman said that if there had been a boy, her father would have given him all the educational privileges and her "mother would have had no vote" in the matter. One said that her father cut off financial support when he decided her education was taking too long. She paraphrased his words, "Now I give you no more money. You must marry." Another said she saw her mother as a sad case of a talented woman, bowed down by the system, living out her days in servitude. The very best that was said about mothers was that while they themselves were not academically educated in most cases, they did nourish in their daughters aspirations and abilities of a creative kind.

Essentially three patterns emerge in the way the thirty women of the sample came into their careers. The first pattern was a very direct route. Five of the women were about to choose the subject they preferred to study, get a place to study it in the university, finish their work successfully and are teaching in their preferred field today. The second pattern, followed by six women showed them studying the subject of their choice without any particular career plans, but ending up in a related field but with a satisfying career after some trial and error.

About two-thirds of the sample, however, did not manage to study the subject of their first choice, and usually for sexist or sex-related reasons. Of course the war

influenced some careers and not always in a negative way, as will be shown in another paragraph. However, even before the war, Hitler would not allow women to study for certain professions, such as the law. Others wanted diplomacy or agricultural research, but the places for study in the departments were given to male veterans. Several wanted to study medicine but were persuaded by family and others that girls should not be doctors. One gave over the study of mathematics because the sexist atmosphere of the department in the university she attended was intolerable to her. Two women had to give over their first choice of career in order to accommodate the care of their children after divorces.

It is notable, however, that in eight cases, women would have given over their careers for marriage and family if eligible males had shown up at the right time. These particular eight women are all at the top level or the next step to it today, making solid contributions to the work of their professions. They are the older women who were at marriagable age immediately after the war. In so far as this sample is representative of the total population of female academics, one could extrapolate these findings to suggest that there might easily be one-third fewer women in the university faculties today if there had not been a scarcity of men. The approximately twelve percent of the faculty that is female would be reduced by that much.

The war affected the women's lives and careers in a number of ways that are significant to this study. Eleven of the women said the war had no particular effect on their careers. These were essentially the younger women, born after the war, whose fathers came back to take their places at the head of the family. Six said the war had a direct positive effect on their careers. They cited reasons like being able to take jobs after the war for which there were no available men. Where women could prove to the Americans that they had not belonged to any Nazi organizations, they stood in good stead to get jobs, because the men had had no choice but to serve in the military. One woman who had been dissuaded from studying medicine said she had

to care for so many wounded during the war without having had any training to do so, that she changed her mind and became a doctor afterwards because there was no question in her mind any longer that she might not be up to it. Also the American influence after the war affected the career of some. All music written by Jews had been proscribed in the Hitler regime and German history had been distorted by it. The study of many foreign subjects such as American and British literature had been forbidden. So that the arrival of the Americans, who helped establish the Free University, opened up exciting academic possibilities for these women.

One woman said that she was so affected by the sight of so many widows who were helpless to take care of themselves and their families after the war, that as a young girl she vowed that above all she would establish herself in a career so that she would never find herself such a pitiful ward of society.

On the negative side, women who were ready for university as the war broke out were delayed in their studies so that especially in the case of musical performers, they could never really make up for lost time, and consequently became teachers of music and did not reach the heights of performance of which they had dreamed. Others could not get places in the departments of their choice because of veterans' preference.

Once on a career track, most of the women in this study have stuck like glue to their professional work. The average age of the group is forty-five years and the average number of years of service is sixteen, which is all that is reasonably possible, since in Germany one is not prepared for university service until the middle or late twenties. The record is impaired only by the career postponements caused by the war. Those few who have given birth to children have done so without extended leave, bringing seminars to their homes in the more difficult months and returning to their posts very shortly after the births of their children.

Neither have these women played musical chairs very much. Several began in public school teaching and moved into the university after some years. Some have moved from the Teachers College to the Free University. One engineer took two years in private practice before entering university teaching. Two women worked a number of years in radio until they could place in the university. Several had years of performance on the stage combined with university teaching and then as they grew older, gave over performing, and took on teaching full-time. However, once they arrived on the university career track, there has been almost no deviation. If some of the younger women do end up leaving the university, it will be the beginning of a new pattern. At the time of this study they were all under contract at the university -- contracts which were running out. What remains to be seen is what the four or five younger women who speak of leaving the university will actually do. Several of them will have to leave at least temporarily, but will they try to return or will they turn to other careers?

Probably one of the most expected and yet most fascinating aspects of the study is the extent to which these women have ordered their lives to the traditional role of the professor, carved out, as it has been, essentially for and by the male of the species. When the professor is not teaching, tutoring, counseling or attending formal or informal meetings at the university, he must make preparations such as reading, studying, correcting papers and preparing new curriculum. Additionally, one is responsible for dissemination of knowledge and therefore must write, lecture and travel to professional meetings. In short the successful professor must rigorously commit the totality of his waking hours to his profession. For the women it is the same. To survive in this role, German women have emulated the male in so far as possible, and that means there has not been much time for playing the traditional role as wife and mother.

This is the first and most poignant compromise a German woman makes when she decides to take on a professional academic career. She may well choose not to marry

and if she does she will have few if any children. The women repeatedly pointed out that the males, on the other hand, find certain practical advantages in marriage. His physical, material and psychological, and social needs are cared for through marriage, and even the presence of children need not distract him unduly from his work. They granted that not all marriages are happy and that children's needs are not always predictable or easy for either parent to accommodate, but they still felt envious of the male professors who do have a less compromising, less self-sacrificing adjustment to demanding careers than do women. They noted that even when a woman remains single for the sake of her career, it is still more apt to fall to her lot that she will have the care of aged parents than it will to the male since women are expected to fulfil the nurturing role.

It may be surprising, therefore, especially in the traditional German culture, to learn that of the eight married women in the study, five attest to having organized their lives from the first with their husbands so that each partner shares equally all household responsibility. Four of these couples have planned to have no children. They feel the presence of children would upset the delicate balance of their professional and private lives. The author met two of the husbands in this group and found them perfectly accepting of this arrangement with no resentment, and pleased with the professional status and accomplishments of their wives. The fifth couple has postponed raising a family until both partners are well established in their professions.

Among the three other married women, a variety of attempts to compromise between career and motherhood or wifehood have been accompanied by much frustration. Two of the divorced women also have children and have found it very difficult to enhance their careers because of child care.

Except for three women who believe strongly that they would not be able to experience life in its fulness without children, there was a consensus that a woman

must make a hard-nosed decision to concentrate on career to the exclusion of raising children, unless the very most favorable conditions for help with their care exists. However, since such care is expensive and the child-bearing years are the same years that must be spent getting established and are the least well-paid, this virtually means a decision against bearing children.

Giving over marriage and child-rearing for the sake of the career is a very obvious sacrifice that women make to follow the established career lines of a university professor. There are, however, more subtle adjustments which each woman must face. As an example one could cite the fact that many women have themselves been socialized in their role to prefer not to see, feel or think about sexist inequality. Professional men have traditionally eschewed such, to them, unserious considerations in the university, preferring to believe that women, like men, can succeed if they are just capable and devoted scholars. Women who feel they must emulate men are apt to say such things as well. The words of one not untypical male professors are instructive:

> There is no discrimination in the university. If a woman is capable and intelligent and is single-minded about getting on in her career and doesn't try to have a family as well, and doesn't divert her interests with involvement in activities like the feminist movement, she can get on quite well as a man.

Also when the director of a department was asked what would happen to a woman whose contract was running out, he suggested that she and seventeen men had applied for the one job opening. He said she would just have to get married. When asked what if she were already married, he said, "then she has no problem, does she?"

The women in the study suggest that women must still fight for their place in the university, but they must not address this problem head-on or even too openly because the traditional role definition of the professor does not allow for this kind of discussion and women who engage in it are suspect; one male professor said that women engage in feminist activities to cover up the fact that they do not have what it takes to be successful in such a demanding profession.

In the United States there has been some research and quite a bit of discussion about the influence of role models upon the careers of women. For the most part the women in this study had not thought in these terms. In a traditional male-oriented culture like Germany there have been few women in career positions to be emulated. Therefore it is not surprising that fifteen of the women named males as their role models. Nine others denied any role models at all and asserted they had created their own roles. Five of the thirty women named female professors or school teachers and one said her circle of friends in university were her models. There might be an interesting cultural question for further study buried in the fact that nine women so vehemently denied having had models. It might suggest a correlation with a value of individual self-sufficiency or it might suggest a feminist value at work which refuses to recognize male influence.

Obviously when there are few female achievers influencing the lives of young girls, models will inevitably have to be males. However, this is not an insignificant point. The likelihood that these girls will be socialized into their careers in the salient male mode is very strong and therefore adjustments in the profession to suit female needs will not be tolerated until the cycle is somehow broken.

This brings us back to the question of the four or five young women in the study who are ambivalent about continuing in university careers. They themselves are not sure of the exact causes of their frustrations. They blame the university for being stuffy, rigid, discriminatory and inhumanely demanding. They blame society

for socializing men to expect rigorous careers and for socializing women so differently. They even blame themselves sometimes for their ambivalence. They question whether the price is worth it to give over all the other satisfactions of life for such a career. They look to American career women with envy and yet with a little disdain. They would like the freedom that seems to be more possible here to move in and out of professional work to accommodate a more acceptable pattern of female life. At the same time they have real doubts that such women are really equal to their male counterparts, or to female academics like those who devote their lives solely to careers.

One specific problem that faces these young women is the need for the second degree, the Habilitation, which none of them have achieved. In a way one could say that the male professor quoted above is correct. These particular young women have not completed their second degree because they have allowed themselves to become diverted. For instance, they have spent time and energy establishing women's courses at the university. One might think that such work would fall well within the accepted limits of the profession, but actually it is viewed by most academics in Germany as something a little frivolous. Or they have lent their efforts to helping found houses for battered women and they have worked in political parties. Even though they have done all this without relaxing their standards of quality work at the university, no points are scored in the profession for this work; and even though it is their personal time that these women have given over to these activities, the women still pay the price. They should have put the matter of earning their second degree foremost. Having failed to do this, these women must pay the price of leaving the university until they find some way of getting back into the university, probably in West Germany and not West Berlin, if they fulfill this requirement at some future date. This is an unlikely possibility in several of the cases referred to here. The system is rigid and does not allow even such

human service deviations as these women have made. The one in the group that made her Habilitation just in the nick of time before her contract ran out, was able to locate temporarily in another city and she may have a chance of a permanent position there.

Actually only ten of the women in the sample do have their Habilitation. However, six more are working on them now. Four women were able to move up without the Habilitation due to the special circumstances that accompanied the change-over after the democratization law. Four others are musicians whose performance record counts more than a second degree. Six women have given over trying for the second degree and will be secure in their present jobs, but will not be able to advance. Some feel frustrated by the circumstances that have worked against them which they admit have not only been sexist but political as well.

As was suggested earlier in this paper, proper scholars in German universities do not consider administrative positions as upward mobility. Like the men they emulate, the women, for the most part, have very negative feelings about administrative positions, and administrative power. Nevertheless, one could ask that if all the top positions in administration are filled by men in a male-dominated culture, might there not be some power or other perquisites in those jobs that women could be sharing. And will the university become a more equitable place for women if they do not move into administrative power?

Most of the women in the study said the administrative jobs are too political. They said the hours are too long, the pressure too great, the work too uninteresting to be "good for women." Moreover they said the women have not been trained for such work. They said that if women took those positions they would have their "visions currupted" and they would act just like men. There would be no alternative for them since the bodies responsible to them and to whom they would be responsible are mostly composed of men and consequently women would have no real say in changing anything.

Several of the women did suggest that with the democratization law, the power and the image of administration positions are improving and they themselves would not mind being in administration; but it is just so impossible, they say, for women to get there, that they are not even trying.

The publication record of the women in the study is quite impressive. Eight women have published between twenty and thirty-five articles each, and one has published nearly 150 articles. Another ten have published between four to ten articles. Fourteen of the women are responsible for publishing twenty-five books. The four musicians in the sample have made hundreds of recordings among them. There are two women who have not published at all. They are both involved with administrative aspects of the university.

The last important consideration of this study concerns the aspirations of these women, which on the face of it seem to be lower than one would expect of women fighting for equality in the university. In saying just that, however, we may be getting at a small measure of the truth. In many respects these women are not fighting for equality. Rather they are serious female scholars who have gained a certain foothold in the university and knowing when they have achieved a good thing, are too realistic to fight for the impossible. Four of the women are already at the top. Eight are aspiring for top professorial positions. Fourteen have given over trying to advance for a variety of reasons. And four are leaving the university. Those who have given up aspirations for advancement are mostly women in their forties and fifties, some of whom are at the next to the top level. To advance would mean leaving Berlin as explained earlier in this paper. But they have tenured positions. They find their work with students very rewarding. They have comfortable salaries and enjoy the prestige of university professorship. The same situation would probably apply to many men as well. It can only be said that given the struggle and sacrifices the women have made to get to their present positions, one can understand that they

might want to relax and just enjoy their work.

Inevitably a study like this raises many new questions. One would like to know how the record and the pathway of the women's careers compares to those of men. One would like to know exactly how much progress this report would show over certain former times. One would like to have comparisons with women from other countries. These are subjects for future research.

In summary, then, we find few women in the academic profession in West Berlin especially in the top ranks. Many of the women clustered in the lower ranks may not attain tenure because of retrenchment, since the tenured positions above them are filled already, mostly with men, some of whom are still quite young.

Women have had mostly male role models who have influenced their socialization in professional careers according to the traditional male mode. Women who have chosen this route have given over marriage to be single-minded about their careers and those who are married have borne very few children. Surprisingly most of the women who are married have been able to make cooperative arrangements with their husbands to share home responsibility equally.

A very important group of about five younger women in the study represent the conflict of the times for women in Germany. They aspire to serious careers, but do not wish to capitulate to what they feel are stuffy inhuman demands of the traditional mode of professorship. They are paying a price for their indecision. Some may never get back into the university even if they should choose to. They are the most interesting cases to watch, to see how their careers do develop. How will their experience affect the young women who come immediately after them? Will the tight job market scare young women into making the same hard-nosed and sacrificial decisions about their personal lives as did the women who had made it to the higher positions before the whole question of equality for women was raised? Or have these younger women put their careers on the line for a good cause? Will their work in running "Summer

universities for women," and in fighting the battle for women's studies courses be a really significant wedge in opening up a very unequal situation for women? The future will tell.